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ABSTRACT

These papers on the role of residential adult education were first presented at a July 1991 conference at Somerville College, Oxford University, England. After an introduction (Field), the first paper, "Residential Adult Education: History, Concept, and Evaluation" (Bron), offers an historical perspective and recommends defining "residentiality" for both research and evaluation purposes. The second paper, "'Encouraging Citizenship': Adult Residential Education and Training for the 21st Century" (Lieven, Jackson), addresses the relationship between residential colleges and democracy. The third paper, "Residential Adult Education in a Hostile Environment" (Leighton), traces the influences of national and local governmental influences on adult education in Great Britain. The fourth paper, "Learning and Traveling in the Third Age" (Eyland), describes the Australian College for Seniors. The fifth paper, "Minds in Community: A Report and a Project" (Faithfull) describes residential adult education at Braziers Adult College at Ipsden (Oxfordshire, England) and suggests that such colleges should provide training courses in simpler living and redesigned patterns of human existence that consume and pollute less. It suggests that older people, with their experience of making the best of an aging body since about age 40, would be perfect as leaders of this movement of adaptation. (CML)

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UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

Discussion Paper in Continuing Education Number 3

RESIDENTIAL ADULT EDUCATION
TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

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Edited by John Field and Gerald Normie

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INTRODUCTION

RESIDENTIAL ADULT EDUCATION

JOHN FIELD

Centre for Continuing Education, Bradford University

If few in number and small in size, residential adult colleges remain extremely significant educationally. They have a long history, dating at least back to the nineteenth century when residential colleges were first opened in Britain and the Nordic Nations; they enjoy a particular status within the adult education traditions of their various societies. Above all, not least because of the high financial costs of residential learning, they have in these societies been exemplary of a wider public commitment to the ideas and practice of what the Danes call "popular enlightenment" and the British call "liberal adult education".

What role can residential adult education play now, in a world whose values and problems are shaped in a very different context from that which faced the founders of Kolding, Ryslinge or Ruskin? Quite a range of answers are presented in this collection. The papers were first presented at a conference held in July 1991. In the fine setting of Somerville College, Oxford - quite a different type of residential institution, as we constantly reminded ourselves - the conference participants debated both the theory and practice of residential adult education today.

In a society where adult education can creatively represent consumption as much as citizenship, residential adult education has changed, and the papers reflect this process of transformation and development. In some instances they also demonstrate a fear that political changes may undermine a well-established contribution to social and cultural development, and confine residential adult education to those few who are able and willing to pay for it.

In all cases, though, the authors are interested in what it is that is unique about

residential education. What can residence offer to the adult learner that is not available elsewhere? Is it particularly suited to certain types of learning, or of learner? What conceptual frameworks best help us make sense of different forms of residential learning and education? What are the negative dimensions of living together (not to be ignored in a highly individuated society like ours)? What kinds of purposes and constituencies may most justify the additional costs of residence? Finally, the collection ends with an invitation to reflect on the contribution of residential adult education in helping our societies learn to live with the ecological imperative.

As a topic for research, residential adult education is equally a live issue. Residence is typical of several forms of education which otherwise appear to have little or nothing in common. The objectives which usually are stated for prisons and work camps at first sight seem the entire opposite of those which are claimed for the British public schools or scout camps. And indeed the differences are real ones; yet all share the project of fostering profound personal change through withdrawal from the influences of daily life. Withdrawal provides space for reflection, though of course not necessarily for a hermit-like renunciation of the world outside.

What remains very much a closed book is the informal and incidental learning that accompanies the formal education or training programmes. There are good logical reasons for supposing that this informal learning is intensified by the fact of residence, which provides space for experimentation and exploration of the learners' - and teachers' - personal identity and underlying values; yet this has received little or no attention from researchers. The use of residential education in labour market training has produced a handful of guides to conference organisation, but barely a single serious analysis. Nor have the economics of residential education been subjected to serious scrutiny. Comparative studies are skewed by the availability of so much material in English (including of course, studies by English-speaking researchers in Denmark and Sweden); Germany for example, has attracted relatively little attention from comparative researchers.[1] This collection is, then intended to provide a spur to further investigation of this fruitful area of study and practice.

1. Walter Drews, Principal of Wansfell College is currently undertaking a comparative historical study which will remedy this gap at last.

RESIDENTIAL ADULT EDUCATION:
History, Concept and Evaluation

Agniezska Bron
University of Linkoping

1. JUSTIFICATION FOR RESIDENTIAL ADULT EDUCATION : HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Residential education is an old form of schooling, mostly for elites, such as schools for knights, Jesuit schools or the first university colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. Boarding schools were common for children of royal and aristocratic families and later for the middle class. There is, however, a negative experience of residential education as well, like that established by Makarenko in Soviet Russia, which were prison-like institutions for young orphans whose parents had been killed by Bolsheviks.

Opportunities for education and learning were believed to be greater in residential institutions. Makarenko schools still have supporters in the Nordic countries (work with drug abusers sometimes has Makarenko's pedagogy as an ideal) but few people know about their actual conditions and functions. Some extreme religious groups use residentiality for both manipulation and brain washing (i.e. Moon sect). It seems that the boarding school idea was built upon the conviction that they provide a better climate for achieving educational and personality development goals.

In the field of adult education as well, residentiality has become an important model. There is not only the tradition but continuing development of practice, for example in the form of courses organized by employers for personal development and upgrading qualifications. There is, however, very little reflection on the role of residentiality. Thus, the question remains of how much we know about the effects of residential versus non-residential adult education. What do we mean by residential education, why should it be a better form of education and learning? I will deal with these problems in the next subsections.

Let me now present some historical background to the development of residential adult

Let me now present some historical background to the development of residential adult education. It seems natural to start with the concept of folk high schools and its role in the Nordic countries, mostly in Denmark, in which the idea was developed.

Grundtvig

The concept of folk high school is immediately associated with its creator N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872), Grundtvig was a poet, historian, politician, priest and adult educator, but also a reformer of the Danish Church. In his writings the idea of folkehojskole is an idee fixe. As a strong critic of formal schooling in Denmark, which he called schools for death, Grundtvig believed in an idea of a new type of school, a school for common people, which should be connected with their lives and history, which could give them both the roots and the identity to be able to develop individually and collectively. He did not believe that democracy could be reached without an effort. The idea to of the transition from monarchy to democracy scared him.

Sven Erik Bjerre (1983:22) writes that: :*True democracy was not possible - according to Grundtvig - if people were only concerned with safeguarding their own interest and forgot those of the community and people as a whole. Only if people had an understanding of the 'conditions of the native country and the common good' - only then could democracy be in the true interest of the people".*

According to Grundtvig's views, the achievement of democracy could only be possible on a basis of enlightenment, not just on knowledge, but first of all on peoples' willingness to collaborate. After the revolutionary year of 1848 he even more strongly believed that new schools were the means to save Denmark from revolution and social unrest, and make the transition from absolute monarchy to democratic government as gentle as possible. He outlined a proposal for a large state high school, the Academy at Soer, which he presented to the king. It was designed as a place for prospective leaders to meet, in a united search for enlightenment. Here the gap between the unlearned and learned, between the civil servant and the peasant, should be bridged. The interplay at this academy should, among others, create an understanding of the common heritage within the fields of the history, the language and the Danish culture.

This idea was, however, never realized, and Grundtvig never established his own folk high school, either. Instead a rapid growth of peasants' high schools developed in

Denmark, later to be called folk high schools. Before I comment on them, let me continue for a while on Grundtvigs' ideas.

The school for life, the high school was meant to be for men of a minimum age of 18. Thus, it was the school for adults. According to Grundtvig it should be:

* the state school supported by the King and financed by the state;
* the secular school . Grundtvig wanted to separate school from Church. For him a man or a woman should first become a human being and then a Christian. His famous statement was: "First the man, then the Christian".
As Rordam (1980:18) points out, "*this should not be understood, however, in the sense that Christianity is the result of human development. He* (Grundtvig) *also said: 'We receive Christianity for nothing, it is pure joy.' But this did not prevent the High School from giving enlightenment on Christianity, when occasion arose*".
Rordam continues: "*when Grundtvig spoke of life enlightenment, it was therefore neither as a Christian nor as a theologian. He spoke deliberately within the framework of human life on this plane. His bugbear was academic education. Without genuine Danish common sense we should be lost in abstract internationalism. But within this framework people should be free to think, believe and learn whatever they wished. To the end he opposed those who had doubts as to freedom at school and in the Church. But he rejected the French revolution's individualistic concept of freedom. He applauded the Nordic concept where freedom was based on obligation towards human society*".

* similar to the English and Danish colleges, i.e. it should be a residential school. In this way the interaction between teacher and students was possible.
* the school based on partnership between teacher and students.

Two different experiences made Grundtvig plan his school for life. Firstly, in his studies of Nordic Mythology and the Nordic languages he became fascinated by Iceland, which he believed was the nordic culture cradle. Iceland did not lose its folk culture and identity (*folkelighed*) because social interaction, in form of Kvoldake, was still the form of life of its people.

Kvoldake means the communal evening gatherings of the neighbours, at which the older

members of the social organisation passed to the younger enlightenment in form of the nordic sagas; children learned how to read, write and count. Grundtvig called the Icelandic folk high school not an institution but a cultural phenomenon.

Secondly, during his visits to Oxford (1829-1831) he became aware of the role that residence played in the interaction between a teacher and his students. He wanted to create residentiality, which gives a feeling of togetherness and fellowship, a kvoldake for young adults in Denmark so that they could acquire national identity and become citizens.

First folk high schools: Christen Kold

In 1844 the first folk high school was established at Rodding in Danish-speaking Northern Slesvig (Southern part of Jutland), with the aim of fighting German influence. The initiative came from Christian Flor,. who taught at school himself. Flor had met Grundtvig in 1829, and wanted very much to put Grundtvig's thoughts into practice. Like many other followers he was successful. All folk high schools were in one way or another influenced by Grundtvig's idea. The crucial thing was education for the fatherland and enlightenment for citizenship. The living word was the means of learning.

In 1851 a new kind of folk high school was created by a charismatic person: Christen Kold (1816-1870). His school in Ryslinge was different from those of Grundtvig's supporters' schools. It was less theoretical and more ideological. (i.e. religious) It set more emphasis on Christian personality development than citizenship education. The living word dominated education personally.

Kold began his career by starting schools for children, and gradually became aware, because of his own experience, as well as Grundtvig's influence, that schools should be designed for young adults. Similarly to other schools, a boarding house played for Kold the crucial role in enlightenment. As he did not have his own family, but wanted one very much, he created his schools as a family to get the feeling of real togetherness. In small groups of pupils, with one teacher, and his sister as housekeeper, he reached 'family like' life at school. The school was characterised by freedom but not totally. Kold played the role of a patriarchal father. Many followers wanted to establish similar schools with similar atmosphere but they never came close to Kold's experiences.

New schools were quickly opened in Denmark. In 1863 there were 15 such schools; after the war of 1864 with Prussia their number doubled, to reach in 1869 the total of 45 with 2,071 students. Traditionally the Danish folk high school ran 5 months winter courses for men and 3 months spring courses for women.

Already in 1871 the idea of folk high school came together with Danish immigrants to North America. They established the Society of Danish Lutherans, which started to organise folk high schools. The schools educated young Danes for almost 60 years. Together six were established lasting for shorter or longer periods.

Outside Denmark the first folk high school (Sagatun High School) was established in Norway as late as in 1864. (The idea was known much earlier. Grundtvig himself addressed the booklet on creating the Norwegian folk high school, but there was no interest). The first school was founded by Herman Anker and Olans Arvesen in Hamar. But it was soon accused of being non Christian and "Danish". The next school was established in 1867 by Christoffer Bruun, who is known as the Norwegian folk high school father. The situation of the schools was not easy because of financial problems and lack of support from the state. Out of 34 schools built between 1864-1894 only four survived until 1904. The trend changed in 1919 when schools got support from the state. In 1920 there were 28 schools with 2,000 students.

The folk high school idea also came to Sweden very soon. But it took some time to create a school. Some Swedish writers, point out that their founders were not aware of Grundtvig and his idea, and established the schools independently on their own (Arvidson, 1988; Buurgman,1968). The three folk high schools were organised in the same year, in 1868 in Hvilan, Onnestad and Hervestad, all of them in Skane.

The Finnish folk high schools undoubtedly were inspired by the Danish ones. Already in 1889, still under the Swedish "occupation", the first school for the Finnish speaking population was established in Kangsala by Sofia Hagman. In the same year the first Swedish speaking folk high school was created in Borga. By the end of the 19th century there were 16 Finnish and 5 Finnish-Swedish schools.

Residentiality was from the very beginning the main feature of Danish folk high schools. With close contacts between students and between students-teachers, one hoped to reach

not only the intellectual, but above all emotional goals of enlightenment. One should not only live under the same roof and learn together, but also run a household together - cook meals, work in the garden or at the farm which the school owned. Such an educational environment was most of all important in Kold's schools and in the schools of his followers. Kold probably in the best way adapted Grundtvig's idea of residentiality into practice. His curriculum however differed from Grundtvig's proposal.

Almost all the Nordic folk high schools followed the model of residentiality. An exception was in Sweden, where the first folk high schools were non-residential. Students were recruited from the nearby community, living in their homes. Others had board and lodgings near the school in private homes. Gradually the Swedish folk high schools became residential at the end of the 19th century.[1] More and more students became accommodated at schools in Sweden, and teachers began to notice the importance of students' gathering at evenings for learning opportunities. Thus, after the teachers' meetings in Stockholm and Oskevik in 1880, a choice to move to residentiality was made. From that moment on residentiality became no longer a question of principles but of economy (see, Burgman, 1968).

Outside the Nordic countries, all folk highschool were residential, following the danish pattern. In Poland the first school was founded in 1900 at Pszczelin near Warsaw. It offered gardening (horticultural) and agricultural course, was owned by the bee-keeping (Apiculture) and Horticulture Society, and accepted by the Ministry of Education in Petersburg. The school ran 11 months residential courses for young men from the countryside. Beside practical subjects, the main emphasis was put on secretly taught subjects, like Polish history, literature and language.

The next school of the same character was founded in 1904 at Kruszynek, this time for women with the same curriculum and of 11 months duration, as well. In both schools the idea of co-operativeness which came directly from Denmark was taught. In 1909 two new institutions were established: one at Sokolowek for men, and one at Golotczyzna for women. In 1912 the fifth school for boys called "Bratne" ("Brothers") was founded, and the same year the sixth - in Krasiczyn - was established as an agriculture farm.

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[1]The lack of a boarding house at first Swedish folk high schools is used, among others, as a proof of Swedish schools being an original creation (see, Arvidson, 1988).

The first folk high schools' characteristics could be summarized as follows:

* all schools were established in the Russian part of Poland in which conditions were the most severe, i.e. russification was in trust, and police control the strongest;

* all were created on the Danish pattern; their founders knew the Danish idea from visiting Denmark.

* all of them, while called officially agricultural and horticultural courses, ran secret curricula to educate young peasants for national identity and citizenship. They had Polish literature and history, language, citizenship education and secular ethics;

* the first folk high schools were founded and run by women: Stefania Sempolowaka, Jadwiga Dziubinska, Irene Kosmowska - all were well educated, coming from intellectual families, and were engaged in cultural and citizenship enlightenment of peasants to prepare them for Polish independence. By cultivating Polish identity and culture they were struggling for independence. It is not difficult to guess why Grundtvig's idea was so attractive to them and suitable to the Polish situation. Jadwiga Dziubinska (1874-1937) is worth mentioning here, as she was a headmistress of three schools including the first. She visited Denmark and was inspired personally by the Danish schools.

* all were funded by private means;

* all schools ran long 11 months residential courses separately for men and women. It was a great event for a student to come to the course, as the whole village collected food and money for him/her to go to the school.

In Great Britain adult educators had been in contact with the Danish folk high in schools already in 1890. In 1903 George Cadbury founded Woodbrook College in Bournville, and in 1909 Fircroft College in Selly Oak, both close to Birmingham and with Quaker support. Later on Coleg Harlech in Wales and Newbattle Abbey in Scotland were founded on the Danish pattern.

Before the first world war folk high schools were founded in Germany, Switzerland and in the Austro-Habsburg Monarchy, in Croatia and Hungary. After the first world war folk high schools were established in the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Estonia and Austria. After the second world war they were founded in France by Erica Simon, in Africa and in India. In

all those folk high schools a boarding house was an important element of the school educational environment.

2. THE CONCEPT OF RESIDENTIAL ADULT EDUCATION: WHAT DO WE MEAN BY RESIDENTIALITY?

This historical background demonstrates the role residentiality played for the folk high schools' identity. Burgman (1968:164) writes that: "*The boarding house idea and the collective cooking, without any hesitation, was an important part of citizenship education. The influence on individuals in the best way occurs in a spiritually favourable climate, in a home environment, where the creation of common values is conditioned by positive emotional contacts.*"

Still today one uses residentiality as a condition for adults' learning and teaching, and not only at folk high schools. Mostly it is used at short courses organized by employers for personal development and upgrading qualifications or by trade unions for trade union training, as by other social movements to train their own leaders.

There must be some reason why providers choose just the residential form. It is not the cheapest way, but is probably the most effective one. Is this why employers choose it?

At the same time some typical residential institutions are having their purely residential character, and not only have students who commute, but even open, non-residential folk high schools in towns as in Sweden.

But the residential form of adult education still exists in several countries. Adult educationists often take residentiality for granted and do not try to analyse the concept. It it is time to ask ourselves a question: what do we mean by residentiality?

The draft definition could be that residentiality, in an educational context, connotes a phenomenon of student-teachers conditioned by living together under the same roof with the aim of personal development through individual and collective learning and experience.

It includes space (a common environment) and the time dimension (for a given period). It is possible, I guess, to divide residentiality at folk high school into the following areas:

(1) **a physical environment**, i.e. a boarding house in which all students and some or all staff live together and share leisure and sport facilities;
(2) **a social environment** in which students are socialized into school norms and values, or, even generally into the norms of society. The staff and students make up a community with both responsibilities and rights;
(3) **a socio-psychological environment** where interactions between members take place, i.e. when group dynamics occurs. They learn how to co-operate with each other, how to handle conflict, how to solve problems, and how to enjoy being together. One learns democracy on the spot, thus civic learning occurs.
(4) **an educational environment** at which one learns from each other by means of discussion, studying books and exploring reality by project work, problem based learning, study circles etc. Both general and special knowledge and skills may be learned. Another dimension is that participants are responsible for their learning and decide together with teachers on the programme and methods of study.

Such a division as the above is only useful theoretically, as in reality it is almost impossible to differentiate the last three dimensions from each other. Thus, the physical and social environment of course condition each other.

I think, however, that a theoretical division into four dimensions of environment in residentiality can be a useful tool for studying residentiality, and possibility discover what role it plays for individual cognitive and emotional development. And especially when one can look at the interaction between these four variables and their indicators.

Residentially, as I mentioned at the beginning, is not always a positive feature. One can use it not only for personal development and interaction between members of the institution, but also for manipulation and indoctrination. To make sure that there is no question of manipulation, residential institutions cannot be separated from the society and its norms (functions). Therefore, it might be interesting to look at the following issues and try to examine them:

*What function does residentiality play on personal development or for indoctrination (manipulation)?

* What influence does residentiality have on cognitive learning?

* How is interaction created between students and teachers?

* What forms and methods are specifically used in residential environment?

* What function does residentiality play at short courses organized by employers (private, state and municipal)?

    * Is it only effectiveness which counts when organising such courses?

    * What kind of courses do employers run?

        - general education
        - civic education for democratization of work place
        - social - contentment at work place
        - vocational

million students at five hundred colleges. The results show that those who lived in the dormitory were more successful in their studies, they dropped out to lesser extent and were more successful with their plans than students not living at the college. As far as drop out problems are concerned, Astin got support from Pantages and Creedon (1978) and Tinto's, (1975) studies.

As far as future plans were concerned dormitory students often chose teaching or professions in the social services, whereas those who live at home more often chose professions in technology or economics. One found also some differences between those different groups as far as social life aspects are concerned, i.e. students' understandings about their own social abilities were generally more positive among the residential group than non-residential. The former group was also more happy about their own studies and especially their contacts with the school and student-peers. To live in a dormitory meant for them to have better opportunities for discussions with teachers, for getting advice and help from teachers and other personal, and growing social life. When Astin compared the answers he found out that the effects were maximal among those who studied for four years as opposed to two years.

The results may be summarized as follows: "*students' educational achievements, attitudes, values and self-esteem change more among those who have residential status than those who only followed teaching in the classroom*" writes Svanberg Hard (1988:108). The effectiveness of residentiality depends also on its length.

The second type of research findings which Svanberg Hard (1988) refers to concerns Sederlof's study of folk high schools in Finland and residentiality. He concentrated mostly on the educational aspects of the residential environment, but also on the effects of the residential environment on the educational process. He asked 640 residential students at the beginning and the end of their one year studies about their opinion on the effects of their studies. Only 38 per cent of students answered that the results of studies in relation to residentiality were rather large or large.

Sederlof investigated the relation between goals of teaching at folk high schools and residential importance. 64 teachers from 8 schools filled in the questionnaires. The most important goal of teaching according to them was to assimilate knowledge and skills according to the programme (80% of teachers). 33 per cent said that residentiality

3. EVALUATION OF RESIDENTIALITY

Residentiality is an educational form used in non-formal and out-of-school adult education. The typical free and liberal institutions like folk high schools used residentiality. But employers and trade unions also use residentiality, in labour market education.

Internal labour market education should be of great interest to adult educationists as it is this area of adults learning in which many employees are involved every year but about which there is not much research. In Sweden, internal personnel training (also called personnel development) is rather a big sector of adult education. Only 20 per cent of educational activities are run internally by the employers, the rest is organized externally by different institutions. Some of the short courses are organized residentially and it can an interesting field of study. Of importance here is a fact that employers run not only courses to upgrade qualifications for employees, but they also run general knowledge courses which help in the democratization of the work place.

We do not know much about the functions of residentiality in adult learning and education. Empirical studies cannot be of much use as there were very few made. As adult educators we truly believe that residentiality creates better environment for learning. Whether residentiality really conditions personal development, effective cognitive learning and civic education is, however, impossible to say without research. At Linkoping University in Sweden, a researcher, Helen Svanberg Hard, runs a project concerning the role of residential environment for folk high schools students learning. The project is not finished yet, but I am going to comment a little on it.

First I would like to mention some earlier findings of Helen Svanberg Hard (1988). She found two main types of studies connected with the area of residentiality. The first type deals with the effects of boarding house (dormitory) for learning, and the other with educational aspects on residential environment as such.

The former type are based on the American college and its students as an object of study. The conclusions are not much relevant, either to the folk high schools or to adult education. Svanberg Hard (1988) mentioned Astin's (1973,1977) studies on what influence the dormitory environment had for individual development. Astin studied two

helped to achieve this goal, while 44% said that it did not. Nearly 80 per cent said that the goal was to create a climate which was good for studies, and 67 per cent believed that it was possible to achieve this thanks to residentiality, while 12 per cent believed that the boarding house had little or no importance. Two thirds of teachers said that the boarding house had great or very great significance for interaction between students and teachers in relation to organized activities and also as far as flexible teaching organization was concerned.

Sederlof even asked teachers about educational goals and residentiality, and found that teachers tried to develop students' personalities, their co-operation abilities and self-esteem, and they believed that residentiality played a significant role. But as for getting a positive attitude to studies, teachers did not find this goal connected with residentiality. He investigated also what kind of methods teachers used at schools because of residentiality. They mentioned four such methods: (1) to encourage students to prepare some activities in that dormitory, (2) to become interested in school social life and organize activities for students, (3) to give consultation to individual students and check their achievements, (4) to try to organize an environment such that students could meet each other after the classes. Then Sederlof compared teachers' and students' opinions about the importance of residentiality as a help in studies (learning). Teachers expressed a much more positive opinion about residentiality than students did. 60% of teachers said that the importance was great, and yet less than 20 per cent of students said the same.

When teachers were asked about any negative view on residentiality they could only find positive attitudes. This was an interesting result to compare with that in which teachers see no significance of residentiality as far as cognitive learning (to assimilate knowledge and skills according to the programme) is concerned. Only one third of teachers saw residentiality as serving to achieve this goal. Furthermore, some of the teachers saw a risk in institutionalisation, which made it difficult to differentiate between private and collective matters.

In Sweden there was very little research concerning residentiality at folk high schools. Research on this subject included development work at folk high schools or investigations made as a basis for government reforms or for suggestions for the teachers. Most such investigations used questionnaires to both students and teachers. Thus there are more recommendations to folk high schools than research results coming from Swedish studies.

For example, leisure time work with students is regarded as the teachers' duty, and is called socio-educational tasks (sodialpedagogiska uppgifter). Furthermore both students' and teachers' tasks are to be influenced as well as collective decisions concerning not only teaching curriculum but also all activities outside the classroom and time for studying according to the programme. The Folk high school teachers' trade union wants to include into teachers' duties the engagement in out-of-classroom activities as a formal task.

Having such background, Svanberg Hard (1988) planned her research on folk high schools starting with the main problem: What role does residentiality play for educational progress? The biggest difficulty in starting the investigation was understanding and operating different concepts for example "informal learning". Such a concept is important for understanding the whole process and the ways it can be used and influenced. Svanberg Hard chooses in the first place the concepts of formal, non-formal and informal learning and on the other hand of institutionalised and non-institutionalised influence. To be able to answer these questions Svanberg Hard distinguished between two areas of study. First the actors i.e. student's and staffs's meanings and intentions; second a description of how non-teaching time is used by students.

In order to investigate the first area it is possible to identify several categories or aspects of meanings (or understanding) of the role of residentiality. Here the interview method is best. The second area of study, that is in what, why, or how one uses time after the classroom is more difficult to investigate. Observation can be used only when it is a matter of organized activities. Therefore self-reports are advisable, for example in a form of a structured diary. In this way Svanberg Hard hopes to investigate an interaction between formal, non-formal and informal learning in relation to institutionalised and non-institutionalised institutions. The project seems very interesting, and hopefully the results will give us more knowledge about residentiality and its influence on adult learning.

The research findings can be summarized as follows:

(1) there is too little research on residentiality in adult education, both in the traditionally residential institutions such as folk high schools, and in labour market education which uses residentiality as a form of training;

(2) among research on folk high schools and other institutions which use residentiality there is a lack of interest on the proper function of residentiality - i.e. residentiality was not itself the issue in adult education research.

(3) as far as evaluation is concerned there is a lack of interest to evaluate residentiality at folk high schools - one takes it for granted that residentiality is a positive future of educational and social environment.

The last conclusion, however, can result in a growing interest, at least in Sweden. The new decree on non-formal adult education (1991) states that folk high schools' and social movements' educational activities have to be evaluated to be able to get financial support from the state.

Thus evaluation, both in the form of research projects and practical feed-back, is necessary to increase our knowledge on residentiality in adult education. Once again it is necessary to stress that residentiality has been playing a significant role in learning and education of adults, but we know too little about it. We need evaluation of residentiality both to develop adult education as a discipline as well as a practical tool for adult educators working at residential institutions. Thus, co-operation between researchers and practitioners in the form of collaborative projects should be promoted.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the following issues should be emphasised:

* there is need to develop the concept of residentiality, its meaning and its operationalisation both for research and evaluation needs.

* there is a need for research and evaluation of residential adult education with the help of different methods. I would like to emphasise here qualitative methodology, such as the biographical method or (life history approach), and/or observation. The effects of any educational influence can be seen only in a time perspective. That is why investigation focused on folk high schools graduates' own documents such as letters, autobiographies or biographical narratives could be of interest. In Poland Turos (1970) had interviewed farmers who attended Solarz

folk high schools in the 1920s.

* there is a need for both historical and comparative research.

* there is of course a need for international exchange of experiences and this conference gives such an opportunity.

* and last but not least there is a need to bridge the experiences of researchers and practitioners by co-operating in the same research project and sharing methodology with experiences of the educational and learning process.

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"ENCOURAGING CITIZENSHIP": ADULT RESIDENTIAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE 21stCENTURY

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Introduction

In 1942 H.C. Dent wrote that "any scheme of universal adult education which is to be adequate to meet the demands of a democratic community, must, I suggest, be built on four main bases; leisure time provision, the short-term residential college, the long-term residential college, and the university" (Dent, 73). It is an appropriate time to re-examine Dent's proposition, following the recent publication of two significant policy documents whose conclusions appear to contradict each other on the issue he addresses. In this paper we look at the importance of adult residential education to the development of democratic practices and relate this to the Report of the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship and the recent White Paper on the future of post-school education. We end by asking whether the apparent contradiction between their approaches can be resolved or whether the proposals will herald the end of a policy to make available public resources for those who wish to improve their understanding and skills as democratic citizens.

Any political system that aspires to democratic practices must give major importance to the education of its citizens. That necessary link between engagement in politics and development of civil society, on the one hand, and adult education, on the other, has long been recognised. The theme is fundamental to the writings of J.S. Mill in Britain as well as to those of N.H.S. Grundtvig in Denmark, to the 1919 Report as well as to the report of the Speaker's Commission in 1990. The truisms of an adult education 'tradition', treated as increasingly irrelevant even by its adherents in the context of crude applications of the market ideology to education, in fact remain central to the extension of democratic practices in the future.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is, of course, a contested concept, used both to refer to a system of electing semi-permanent elites as well as to a broader movement towards involvement in the

processes of society as a whole, political, industrial and economic.

Furthermore democracy is not a particular political system or form of government but, on the one hand a set of ideas and aspirations against which political systems can be judged and changes sought, and on the other hand practices which at particular points in history embody those aspirations to some degree. As the Speaker's Commission notes:

> Those consulted agreed that 'rights are not universal, but instead depend on the country and the historical period in which one lives'. They are won by struggle, 'we are going back to the rights of every century when people have fought and died to give us our rights in this century' (Johnston Conover, 18).

Inevitably in the present historical period both democratic ideas and practices are bound up with definitions of the state and views about how state institutions should operate. That is why the notion of citizenship was explored by the Speaker's Commission as being central to a view about democratic society today. Democracy and citizenship are directly related concepts:

> Our society is passing through a period of change and we are concerned that without our vocalising it, we could lose some of the benefits of living in a relatively free and open society which we have inherited.
>
> The challenge to our society in the late twentieth century is to create conditions where all who wish can become actively involved, can understand and participate, can influence, persuade, campaign and whistleblow, and in the making of decisions can work together for the mutual good (Speaker's Commission, XV).

Education for citizenship is explored extensively in the report and we shall return to its comments on adult education. Here we can note that participants in adult education, in contrast to most of those in the school system, are already engaged as citizens of a 'relatively free and open society'; and that this sharpens the significance for adults of the relations between education and democracy. Marshall's definition of citizenship, which is accepted as a starting point by the report, points to significant features of the relationship. He suggests that there are three elements of citizenship, the civil, the political and the social, emphasising that each element can only be extended by continual

vigilance and willingness to engage in a 'struggle' to extend democratic practices.

> The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom - liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts and the right to justice.... (Marshall, 10-11).

There is a tendency for those in authority to focus on the importance of consent to the laws concerned with the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts and the right to justice 'rather than freedom of speech, thought and faith'. Can education help to counteract the dangers to a free society which this entails?

Clearly there have been many authoritarian regimes in which there appears to be consent by the people at large. There can be a culture of acquiescence bred by the conviction that little can be done and this is not confined to obviously authoritarian systems of government. Such attitudes must be challenged by education which has its roots in democracy. The institutions, forms and content of education must themselves be part of the right to freedom of speech, thought and faith and there must be no compromise on this. It has been a mark of democratic societies that this is possible in education funded, and perhaps largely controlled, by the state.

Freedom of speech is not merely the absence of constraint. It is also a climate in which people have access to information and ideas and the confidence and means to express them, if democracy as popular power is to be a continuous interaction between government and society, with the maximum involvement of the people in public decision making at every level. There are many ways in modern society by which consent can be manufactured. People must feel free and unintimidated in a democratic society but a free education will also ensure that different ideas, opinions, and modes of analysis are genuinely and widely available to counter commercial and political persuasion. It is simple-minded to believe that this will result from the natural working of free market forces. In Britain communications are particularly heavily dominated by a few individual millionaires and international conglomerates and the range of political and social opinion in the press is limited.

Tackling this requires major political action but education has a part to play, not only

enabling people to understand the situation and its implications, but also by training those who wish to participate in voluntary and community organisations in how to communicate effectively themselves. Writing, journalistic and editorial skills, for example, need not be the monopoly of a professional elite. There are paradoxes in technological development which not only encourages concentration of communication resources but also enables them to be diffused more widely. Educational programmes which develop skills in word processing and desk top publishing (and in broadcasting and publishing) can play a significant part in opening up forms of communication outside the commercially controlled mass media.

Marshall's second element focuses on the significance of this right to participate:

> By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body (Marshall, 10-11).

Since this was written there has been an increasing recognition, mirrored in the evidence to the Speaker's Commission, that participation in a wide range of voluntary organizations and citizen's groups might have been added to Marshall's right to participation as elected politicians or as voters.

Clearly the scale of modern political societies prevents the kind of direct democracy associated with the classical Athenian ideal, at all levels of government and the state. But this technical argument should not allow us to accept the proposition that the elected multi-party assemblies are the highest form of democracy or are in themselves a full expression of democracy. There is room for expanding direct control and participation by citizens at various levels and in different contexts. Opposition to an expansion of direct democracy often uses technical arguments about its feasibility in large scale and complex industrial societies as a smokescreen to cover a more ideological objection by elites whose power would be threatened.

Anthony Arblaster has argued that there have always been those who disapprove of democracy but that "only in the twentieth century have theorists attempted systematically to produce a version of democracy in which popular participation is treated with suspicion, if not regarded as positively undesirable", thus departing

fundamentally from the traditional understanding of what democracy is, or was (Arblaster, 63). He points to the paradox that "at the same time as much conventional theory has tried to restrict the idea of democracy to that of choosing a government from competing elites, it is also widely admitted that the theoretical sovereignty of these democratic governments is not in fact matched by their actual powers over society, particularly in relation to the vast conglomerate firms and multi-national companies on whose policies and decisions the employment and livelihood of so many millions now depend" (Arblaster, 64). When the powers of elected governments are so restricted, and accountability through periodic elections is so limited, the reputation of democracy is not enhanced.

We can help to reinforce the politically dominant theories about contemporary democratic institutions by emphasising that education for democracy is merely a matter of learning the rules as they are. Or we can ensure that people know the rules and the theories that lie behind them, using their rights and taking on the responsibilities, but at the same time enabling them to learn not just how they are ruled but how democracy might be.

This leads us to consider practical and positive forms of education and training. We can ask the question 'what do people need to learn if they are to act effectively in taking more power than is assigned to them by the assumptions of existing elites?' Many of our educational programmes are well designed to encourage a deep and open debate and to examine the issues associated with citizenship and democracy today in a critical and informed way and these must be extended and defended vigorously. But there must also be an effective contribution to the practical efforts of people to achieve their democratic rights through gaining real power over those aspects of their lives which are dominated by others: we shall return to this again.

Marshall's third element has a different kind of relevance for adult education:

> By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to the modicum of economic welfare and security to their right to share fully in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in society (Marshall, 10-11).

Full citizenship requires that this social element does not only refer to housing, employment and social services but also to 'cultural capital' which, if it is distributed

through the market or a stratified education system, will not be available as a 'right' to large numbers of working class men and women. This is a powerful reason for public resources to be deployed so that everyone, regardless of income, can participate in 'liberal adult education' in the arts, social sciences, and sciences as areas of intellectual enquiry valuable in their own right, not merely as tools for participation in the economy and society.

This brief survey of Marshall's classic outline of the three elements of citizenship, written in the period after the Second World War and accepted by the Speaker's Commission as valid in today's conditions, points to the significance for democracy of the content and form of education, and indicates the need for a wide distribution of resources in adult learning if opportunities for full citizenship to be maximised. The recent White Paper on post-16 education wholly fails to recognise the significance for 16-19 year olds of an education which sees them as future citizens rather than as mere contributors to the nation's economic performance. As far as adults are concerned, it relegates this whole area of adult education in its formal and informal aspects to a single sentence noting that LEAs retain the power which 'will enable them to continue to provide education to meet the leisure and social interests as adults' (DES 1991, 15). In contrast to vocational further education, for which the White Paper commits resources, there is no affirmation of the significance of this area nor a clear commitment to making resources available.

If we take Marshall's elements into account as well as the varying aspects of adult education which relate to them we can see that the Speaker's Commission almost understated the case when it concluded:

> If adequate support is to be made available to enable men and women to organise themselves, and influence decision-making locally and nationally, adult education and community development are of paramount importance (Speaker's Commission, 39)

RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES AND THE PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY

Turning to residential education, it is Speaker Weatherill himself who implicitly points to its significant role. He refers to the experience of working with others to tackle and

solve real problems:

> I believe that the kind of experience of involvement, of belonging, of sharing responsibility, is a crucial element in the process of learning to be a good citizen (Speaker's Commission,VI).

Adult residential education, because of its nature, is peculiarly suited to the development of the skills and attitudes needed in the approach to democracy outlined above. All writings about residential colleges emphasise the central importance of living in a community; in the Scandinavian folk high school the shared political tasks, the meetings of the whole college and of smaller groups to decide on future activities, and the degree of participation in determining the curriculum draw all aspects of college life into the melting pot of democracy; discussion, opposition and conciliation. Robert Dahl has pointed out, in the context of a discussion about democracy, that "some of the most profound changes in the world take place in a quiet country like Denmark where hardly anyone raises his [sic] voice and the rhetoric of revolution finds few admirers" (R. Dahl,4). Various writers have linked the rootedness of democracy, in all its forms, in Denmark to the fact that in a country of only 6 million people there are 100 folk high schools and that some folketings (parliaments) have contained more than 25% of members who have been high school students.

That this view was not held only in Scandinavia, and was not simply confined to long term residential education, is clear from the debates on the future of adult education which developed in Britain as World War II was drawing to a close. The war and the return of a Labour government in 1945 generated a widespread debate on the nature of mass democracy and the role of adult education; "people of all classes were thinking about the problems of democratic society, and speculating, in some cases, on the educational system appropriate to it" (P Harris-Worthington, 14). In 1942 Dent had argued that every worker should have the right "to a fortnight a year at a short term college" and in the same year Sir Richard Livingstone wrote: "I do not think that we shall succeed in developing adult education unless we make it more social....[it] will not burn brightly, if at all, unless fanned by the social, corporate life which exists in a residential university.." (Dent, 78; Livingstone, 52). Later in the book Livingstone asked, "why should not each Local Authority start its own House of Education?" (Livingstone, 65) In 1944 the Educational Centres Association proposed a range of residential courses

including both long courses of six months to one year, courses of a few months and short courses at special centres running from a week to one month (1).

During the war the 1943 White Paper on Educational Reconstruction, which laid the ground for the expansion of short term residential colleges in Britain after World War II, made the point with all the verve and excitement to be expected of a British government document; 'there will need to be developed appropriate centres, including a number of residential colleges, which will not only provide the educational courses which the adult population will need, but will add to them the values associated with the life of a corporate institution' (P Harris-Worthington, 16).

Later Government documents reiterated the importance of residential education for adults. Harris-Worthington, in his paper on the short term residential colleges, writes of the 1947 document on Further Education that:

> The Report constituted one of the first important steps towards national recognition of the value of adult residential education, particularly its short-term variety. After summarising some of the lessons afforded by educational services in the Forces, the report stated: "Residential courses, where students who have been able for three or four weeks to devote their whole time to the pursuit of some subject of their choice, have been an outstanding success. This suggests that there may be considerable scope for and value in short courses as a permanent part of adult education if a sufficiently wide range of subjects - practical as well as theoretical - is made available".
>
> And later in the report: "opportunities for residential education, whether for adults or for young people, have special values of their own which make it very desirable that they should be included in schemes for further education.....Not least of its advantages is the corporate life shared with teachers and students who have common interests, but approach them from different backgrounds. In particular there is the opportunity at even a quite short residential course to create an atmosphere and engender enthusiasm for learning that is possible in no other way."

> They advocated the development of short residential course centres in every authority and stressed the need for establishing educational links with the long-term colleges (P. Harris-Worthington, 8).

In the climate of the 1991 White Paper it is worth remembering the breadth of vision and also the actual achievements of the post war generation of adult educators led by principals such as Guy Hunter. In the mid 1950s there were about forty short term residential colleges as well as a growing number of long term colleges. These developments were, however, based on assumptions about a move to paid educational leave and adequate funding from LEAs. As hopes for a system of PEL faded and local authorities squeezed funding for residential education, which they had no statutory obligation to provide, the long process of attrition and closures began.

The failure to realise the vision of the post war period or to implement the policy proposals of that time was part of a process which had long term consequences for the quality and depth of democracy in Britain: these consequences are clearly identified in the report of the Speaker's Commission. One of the most interesting and fruitful developments in adult residential colleges during the last decade has been the combination of one and two year courses with flexible short courses designed as part of the pattern of adult and continuing education in their regions. The vision of the short term colleges has been combined with the specialised teaching staff and learning facilities which are the hallmark of the long term colleges. The White Paper neither responds generally to the concerns of the Speaker's Commission that adult education should play its part in shaping democratic processes, nor, in the paragraphs which refer directly to them, does it more specifically recognise and support the steps being taken by the residential colleges.

Perhaps the precise arguments for residence, as opposed to assertions of its value, have not been fully articulated, partly because they are so readily accepted by those who can afford to pay for what they perceive is the best that can be made available, in school or post-16 education. We must therefore spell out some specific features of residential education, in particular those which make it uniquely suitable in the case of education for democratic citizenship (2).

Residential institutions gain from the fact that they combine academic learning and living together so that many parts contribute to a whole leading to an active debate or even

conflict whose resolution is a powerful form of learning. Debate, dialogue and exchange lead to thorough and engaged learning. They challenge assumptions forcibly. Because the challenge continues outside the classroom new ideas are not easily thrust aside by previous patterns of thought or the habits of familiar surroundings. Ideas raised in formal educational sessions continue to be discussed in a variety of settings. Conversely many discussions which begin as part of the process of social life are raised and examined more rigorously in formal sessions. Intellectual confrontation is thus built into the fabric of life at colleges.

Ways of ensuring that the debate leads as often as possible to positive ends then have to be developed. "Harmony has to be created from the diversity which friction and tension of a mixed society engenders". Residential college courses are chosen, often at considerable material sacrifice, by people who want intensive learning to have a real impact on their lives.

The quality of this debate and dialogue leads to a fruitful contrast, described by many observers. More self awareness leads to greater individuality on the one hand with a recognition of the need for discipline on the other. Students find themselves developing their own talents and a confidence in what they do, at the same time as they must work with others whose support and contribution they need in order to be effective.

There is also the apparent contradiction of spontaneous activity within an organised framework. The level of creative activity rises in adult colleges because there is a receptive group of committed and active people to respond. People experience changed roles and an interruption to expected patterns of living. They see themselves in new ways and can risk doing things which they previously considered beyond their scope, or in some way unacceptable within their every day roles. They take new risks in challenging themselves culturally and intellectually.

These new experiences are underpinned by the kind of relations which can develop between staff and students and between the students themselves. There is support and friendship which goes beyond the help and advice normally available within an academic programme. Getting to know people in different contexts produces a more rounded view of students and tutors, who become known as people rather than just as participants in the educational process. It is easier in these circumstances to recognise expertise

without deferring to the experts. There is more freedom and opportunity to question and raise issues in a variety on contexts.

By bringing together students from many situations and backgrounds, across the nation and internationally, residential colleges draw vitality from many sources. Students bring the energy, pride and pleasure of outside commitments to share with others. Workshops, projects and cultural activities are made richer by the diversity of their sources of inspiration. Common features and differences can be explored patiently at leisure and in academic work.

There is much discussion in educational theory of the significance which both role models and peer group influences have on learning and the confidence to learn. The two are sometimes contrasted: the teacher as role model and students as peer group. In a residential community the two overlap and interact. Those whose confidence is at a low ebb are encouraged by working alongside committed and serious people like themselves, bringing tried and tested ways of tackling life to a new task of becoming a student. Academic staff are seen also to be confronting difficulties of research and study so that different ways of overcoming them can be explored without a sense of being inadequate when the going is not easy. There are strong incentives to add discipline to curiosity, to systemise the disposition to enquire and question, to direct and organise newly acquired knowledge and insights, when such activities are common to all.

A related aspect of residential education is that it provides unique opportunities to combine cognitive and expressive learning to good effect. People are engaged in the educational process through many aspects of their personality. Motivation to learn is high on arrival since people have taken a major decision to change their way of life, often at considerable sacrifice, and it is encouraged and supported by group norms. As we have noted, growing confidence is experienced in a supportive environment, and the way in which the residential programme is organised reinforces the combination of individual motivation and support.

Because the working day is not confined to a strict timetable and formal and informal learning mingle in the residential college each new body of students must create a mini society which will be effective for the period of their course. They have to find ways of dealing with the pressure and stress. They become more conscious of their strengths and

weaknesses and find out how effectiveness results from building on their strengths. Forms of solidarity and support which do not inhibit individuality have to be discovered. Arrangements must be created which are sufficiently democratic for everyone to get as much as possible out of life and work at the college. Democracy is a practical matter, of direct significance to everybody, and theories are tested with an unusual immediacy. The qualities and standards of leadership are explored by people unused to such roles. The significance of moral and social standards is sharpened due to the "subtle way in which the formal system penetrates the informal society". In these circumstances it is not empty rhetoric to speak of training grounds for democracy and citizenship.

These are the educational processes which lie behind the Russell Report's comment that "several factors, all deriving for the fact of residence, have contributed to this ethos..the colleges...have been a stimulus of cultural activities and close contact with other students, sharing similar aspirations and problems, drawn from all parts of the country and many other parts of the world. Full time study makes sustained intellectual demand and when combined with individual tuition and the full life of the college produces much more rapid intellectual growth than is possible under conditions of part time study" (DES 1973: 84). Above all this process helps to create active and critical students with the skills and personal strength to engage fully as citizens in the democratic process.

We have already noted that one of the most significant developments in long term residential colleges in Britain has been to develop short courses, particularly for community groups and voluntary organisations. The Russell Report had argued that "the differences between [the long and short term colleges] amount to much more than the duration of the courses; they have different objectives, attract different types of students and are staffed and equipped in different ways" (DES 1973: 44). This sharp distinction no longer applies in some colleges which run long and short courses alongside each other.

Sometimes the short courses are organised with national or local organisations. But mostly short courses in the colleges connect with locally organised networks - neighbourhood groups based on community centres, mother and toddler groups, pensioner groups. The colleges have succeeded in connecting with Black and Asian Community groups and recognising their particular needs for particular approaches.

As we have indicated, the long term residential colleges now offer a programme of 'community skills' courses to groups which are often poorly served by locally based provision. Where this does occur the residential facility becomes a crucial 'value added' element. Here the special opportunities of residence, recognised in training programmes for professionals and other elites, 'adds value' to adult and continuing education for people whom the education system has so far served inadequately. Case studies demonstrate the contribution of residential courses in the development of particular voluntary groups. The presence of a full teaching staff and learning resources enables the colleges to offer courses which are negotiated with participants and often tailor-made to the requirements of different groups.

These new directions in the long term residential Colleges can be demonstrated by considering the recent growth in work with tenants groups in local authority and housing association estates. Legislation has produced a ferment of activity, ideas and controversies around the future of local authority housing. One outcome has been courses developed with Federations of Tenants Associations. Funded by local authorities, the courses are often involved in 'decentralisation' initiatives or 'tenants participation' programmes. Gradually these courses have grown to combine community skills with more detailed briefing and analysis of housing legislation and structures and are directly reaching groups and individuals which more formal and traditional education provision has neglected. In this provision 'active citizenship' training has been demonstrated in a relevant contemporary context and has been seen as valuable at all levels from government to tenants' association.

Current trends in government legislation present a range of further challenges and opportunities to the colleges in housing, education, the social services and health service; "opting out", community care, customer care, the "contract culture", all have produced a demand from the colleges' constituencies for training and support courses. The role of the colleges in citizenship education and community development could expand. Recent policy statements, of which the AMMA statement on community development is a good example, suggest that the short course programmes of some of the colleges mesh closely with current thinking of central and local government.

Within the limited resources which have been available and without a firm continuation of the policy outlined in the 1947 White Paper, residential colleges have been seeking to

respond to the same changes and opportunities identified by the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship. They have been re-examining some of the structures and educational programmes which led to the unnecessarily sharp distinction in the Russell report and prepared the ground for more systematic collaboration between the long and short term colleges.

The recent White Paper on post -16 education was prepared at the same time as a full review of the long term residential colleges was being completed. The evidence submitted by Colleges to the Department of Education and Science included reports of new developments as an indication of the role the Colleges might increasingly play. The Speaker's Commission and the climate to which it was responding suggest that there is substantial support for this view. It is to be hoped that the understandable and commendable focus in the White Paper on improving training and increasing the participation rate in full time education after school will not eventually exclude other aspects of adult education and a proper attention to the wider contribution residential education can make.

The proposal to fund the residential colleges through the new Further Education Council seems ill thought out and largely a matter of administrative convenience, and is based on a narrow definition of their role in relation to access into higher education. A policy for adult education which recognises the issues raised by the Speaker's Commission is required. The role of the residential colleges and the most appropriate form of funding and support could then be identified.

This will require commitment to a particular role for the state in supporting democracy. The Speaker's Commission while indicating various desirable policies at different points in the education system, did not sufficiently address this central issue for it to have significantly affected the thinking behind the White Paper.

CHANGING MODELS OF THE ROLE OF THE STATE

As noted at the start of this paper, there has been a long held assumption that one of the roles of the state is to encourage the skills of citizenship and the participation of citizens in the life of the country. The arguments for this have been put by J.S. Mill, Richard Tawney and others. It has been accepted in Government reports and papers from 1919 to

1944 and beyond. Though funding has rarely been available to give substance to such policy, the acceptance of the principle and the benign attitudes of Government have been significant in the slow growth of long term colleges, the rapid growth of the short term colleges after 1945, government grants to the long term colleges and the provision of mandatory awards to residential students. The notion was given continued respectability, even if the substance was missing, in Margaret Thatcher's references to the positive value of 'active citizenship' and it is also firmly entrenched in the report of the Speaker's Commission.

The reality is, however, that two recent developments are corroding and destroying the system of adult education which has been constructed on those assumptions. In the first place the notion that adult education for participation is a public service to be funded as a significant part of the development of citizenship has increasingly given way to the model of adult education as a service to the economic system. There is of course nothing new (or wrong-headed) in seeing adult education as having a vocational, though not a narrowly training, function in a modern economy. Thus the A.C.A.C.E. report, Continuing Education: From Policies to Practice, argued in 1982 that "as the economic and social forces already reshaping our society gather momentum, the opportunities for adults to continue their education will have to be increased....the main aim must be to equip the adult population to play an active and constructive part in the process of economic and social change" (ACACE, 13). Recent policy statements have made it clear however that in future government will only fund adult education for four purposes; job oriented vocational training; ABE to provide for the basic skills of a modern workforce; professional updating; and Access to higher education with the aim of encouraging adults to re-enter the workforce with high level skills. Outside these areas it is intended that adult education provision will be funded by the students or from the residual funds of local authorities.

The second major change of environment is the move from the ethos of the provision of public goods to a market model of consumer led demand based on individual purchase. The clear logic of this is 'no purchasing power no consumption', thus removing from the market place precisely those groups which, in the past, residential adult education has sought to empower.

We already have in Britain one example of the outcomes of such a change in its effects on

short term residential colleges. The slow removal of local authority funding and the growing insistence that the short term colleges should be increasingly self funding has meant that their original purposes have been eroded to be replaced by the provision of cultural weekends and weekday in service training; both worthwhile activities, but amounting to much less than the idealistic aims of the 1940s. The ideal of an educational community developing the social cultural and civic potential of students largely withered as colleges had to survive in a crude market place of private consumer choices among those who could afford to pay; a lot better than nothing, but hardly the envisaged ideal.

The Speaker's Commission offered a clear alternative to this crude market model of adult education provision. It identified the need for education in citizenship as a public good and illustrated the ways in which the whole society has suffered as a result of the failure to provide such education in Britain. Our argument in this paper is that adult residential education, combining the work of long term and short term colleges, has unique qualities which enable it to respond to that need for education for citizenship which the report identifies. However, far from developing, such adult education provision will actually disappear unless Government thinking, exemplified in the Further Education White Paper, takes a broader and more long term view of the functions of adult education and of the contribution which public funds can make.

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FOOTNOTES

(1) The material on the short-term residential colleges has made extensive use of P. Harris-Worthington's Back to the Future: a Study of Short-Term Adult Residential Education: we would like to express our thanks to him.

(2) The following account of the residential experience draws heavily on discussions with colleagues form all the long term residential colleges (Coleg Harlech, the Co-operative

College, Fircroft College, Hillcroft College, Newbattle Abbey, Northern College, Plater College, and Ruskin college), following a workshop on new developments in the colleges.

RESIDENTIAL ADULT EDUCATION IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

Brian Leighton

Alston Hall

1. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The author of this paper has been engaged in adult education in England for some 30 years. During that time he has been a tutor, principal and an inspector, presently occupying the post of Principal at Alston Hall Residential College for Adult Education; he is also a Special Lecturer in the Department of Adult Education at Nottingham University. These biographical notes are not to give any particular authority to the views expressed in this paper but to indicate the range of experience which have influenced the opinions expressed.

2. NATIONAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCES

In 1960 anybody working in the field of LEA adult education knew that there was legislative support from the 1944 Education Act, setting out the duties of LEAs as follows:

.....it shall be the duty of every local education authority to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education, that is to say:-

(a) full time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age; and

(b) leisure-time occupation, in such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose.

As adult education grew in the 1960s and vocationally based further education became less dependent upon part-time evening study, the LEA adult education centre had a clear remit, 41(b) above, although in later years when the boom was over, the legislative duty, 'to secure the provision of' was much criticised because the quantity of provision was not specified.

Section 41, then, gave scope to LEAs to provide what came to be described as 'non-vocational' education for adults. (This writer has always been concerned about the term

'non-vocational' being used to categorise courses; it can only be a description of student motivation). The driving philosophy behind adult education was what Harold Wiltshire called 'The Great Tradition' embodying opportunities through learning for individual physical, intellectual, social, emotional and spiritual development. In pursuing these purposes LEAs were in clear partnership with the Responsible Bodies, whose funding from central government was unequivocally for liberal adult education in which the depth of treatment was specified.

In 1973 the Russell Committee's report "Adult Education: A Plan for Development" was published, heralding a new dawn for adult education; it proved to be a false dawn. Its recommendations were modest, it was thought at the time, simply expecting the good practice and levels of provision offered in the best authorities to be adopted by all. Some highly commendable work was inspired by the Report but it was achieved without the benefit of backing by central government.

At about this time the national campaign for Adult Literacy was started. Energies of adult educators were focused in this direction and a new breed of 'specialists' emerged. There is no doubt that the pump-priming activities of central and local government, as well as the media, led to qualified success in an area of 'socially relevant' educational activity for adults. In some ways, however, it was the birth of a lasting division in the education of adults, a division between the politically acceptable and the less acceptable, between instrumental and liberal, between grant-worthy activity and cost-recoverable activity. Indeed the new specialists were so intent on training in the teaching of reading skills, that the broader issues and methods concerned with the adult as the whole person tended to be ignored. In this way adult education changed so that it was without a universal coherent philosophy.

Almost ten years later an ACACE Report, "Continuing Education: From Policies to Practice" was published. Continuing Education? What has happened to adult education in the intervening years? Well, 'adult continuing education' had been introduced in to the title of NIAE so that it became NIACE. The Advisory Council was 'for adult and continuing education'. 'Continuing Education' is taken by ACACE as an all embracing term to mean the educational activities in which adults engage after initial education has been completed and normally following a period of employment.

A detailed analysis of this report is not appropriate here. Suffice it to say that in this writer's view both the ACACE discussion paper 'Towards Continuing Education', which preceded the report, and the report itself were cast in such a way as to be politically expedient, to respond to the instrumentalism of the government of the day and largely to ignore liberal adult education. This is not to deny support for its recommendations; it was right to seek to secure resources for a fully comprehensive range of education and training opportunities for adults, but in emphasising the instrumental it failed to give adequate weight to general liberal adult education.

This Report set the agenda for the 1980s and it has to be said that NIACE, and the modest direct grant activities of government, have seen significant developments in securing access for adults, in broadening the range of provision, in promoting 'Return to Study' activities, in accreditation, in distance and independent learning and in championing work with women and minority groups in the community. Alongside this LEAs have been under severe financial pressure and priorities for them have been with the 'new' politically acceptable work. We have lived through a decade in which personal fulfilment through education, learning for its intrinsic life enriching benefits, is only possible if you can pay for it.

So where are we today? Frankly, liberal adult education is in a more threatened state than at any time this century. University adult education no longer enjoys Responsible Body direct grant status. Many university extra-mural departments appear to be in disarray. The LEA adult education sector seemed, consequent upon the 1988 Education Reform Act, to have the legislative framework of the 1944 Act reinforced. However, any interpretation given to the DES White Paper, "Education and Training for 21st Century", would find it difficult to be sanguine about the future of liberal adult education.

> 3.2 The Government believes it is important that good quality education should be available to adults to help them improve their qualifications, update their skills and seek advancement in their present career or in a new career. The Councils will support full-time and part-time education for adults leading to:
>
> . National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) (and before NVQs are fully established, to other vocational qualifications which are not yet approved as NVQs);
>
> . GCSEs, AS and A levels;
>
> . access to higher education;
>
> . access to higher levels of further education;

- acquisition of basic skills (literacy and numeracy);
- proficiency in English for speakers of other languages;
- in Wales, proficiency in Welsh by those learning, or improving their command of the language.

The Councils will also support courses for adults with special educational needs.

3.6 Courses for the leisure interests of adults are likely to be provided in future by colleges, by schools, by LEAs, by voluntary bodies and by private providers. Many of these bodies can put on courses at low cost, and meet the cost by charging fees. But the Government recognises that there can be a case for local authorities subsidising this work, especially in disadvantaged areas, since it can have a valuable social function."

It is unclear how people with fixed incomes are to continue populating general adult education if this becomes the rule.

3. LOCAL FACTORS INFLUENCING ADULT EDUCATION

This section is essentially shorter because the legislative framework within which LEAs operate has been outlined in earlier paragraphs. Government has succeeded in the last ten years in instituting fiscal controls on local authorities thereby restricting their freedom of choice. The non-mandatory field of adult education has suffered inevitably in this climate and two main devices have been used to try and overcome it.

First, there has been a belief in the UK that large organisations are more capable of responding to change than small organisations, particularly in education. Adult education, being marginal to the broader further education service, is thought to have a better chance of securing worthwhile resources if incorporated into large FE colleges. This argument is difficult to sustain since it can be demonstrated that in large colleges a greater proportion of human resource is allocated, unwittingly, to 'maintaining the organisation' compared with client centred activity. The educational rationale for these amalgamations is based on the need to give adults access to courses leading to recognised qualifications which have currency in the world of work. If this works well, then it is certainly a bonus but adult educators working in this environment find that the predominant philosophy of an FE College does not harmonise with their purposes in the field of general adult education. It is argued, therefore, that this work becomes even more marginal than hitherto.

Second, throughout the last twenty years there has been much talk of net budgeting and cost recoverable courses. The rationale behind these devices has been financial rather than educational. In spite of schemes which reduce fees for certain categories of student, it has to be said that such policies discourage, prevent access to, students who are on low or fixed incomes and those who, although receiving a reasonable income, are struggling to bring up children and pay their rent or mortgage. In the 1960s the writer was promoting general adult education with a fee structure that was not a barrier to access and which encouraged participation from all sections of society on equal terms.

Residential colleges for adult education are normally free standing but the number of non-residential colleges of adult education is on the decline, mainly for the reasons stated above. There have been suggestions in a number of authorities for the integration of residential colleges into larger units of service delivery. So far, this has happened at Knuston Hall but it has also been discussed at Maryland and Alston Hall. This is not surprising, because schemes for the management of further education colleges consequent upon the 1988 Education Reform Act do not readily transfer to free standing adult education colleges. They are both an organisational and funding no-man's land. Formula funding applied to further education colleges simply does not work when applied to adult education colleges, and sources of funding are even more obscure after the 1991 White Paper.

The effects of the Education Reform Act are also indirectly disadvantageous to residential colleges. The Act has required a greater proportion of the total resource for education to be allocated to schools and colleges - a much smaller proportion to be held at LEA level. One product of this has been the dramatic decline of centrally organised short courses for teachers, which was one of the primary functions of many residential colleges. This has resulted in a rapid decline in income from the mainly mid-week use by in-service clients. Furthermore, the present economic recession has reduced the demand for in-service courses from a wide range of industrial, commercial and governmental organisations.

Solutions have been found through diversification. Burton Manor, most notably, has a very successful programme of management courses which it offers to industry and commerce. This is well established and flourishes without reducing the offer of adult education courses. At Missenden Abbey the college is now given over to management

training and allows adult education to take over for the weekend and summer courses. Lancashire College has well established course provision in modern languages to industry but it has to be said that the volume of such work at many times of the year fails to make adequate use of excellent residential facilities. It is now attempting to follow the Burton Manor model.

Residential Colleges are increasingly being expected to operate on a full cost-recoverable or nil-net budget basis. 'Selling' surplus space to industry and commerce is all too often seen as a solution to the present financial dilemma. In the last year the principals of two colleges, Dillington and Higham Hall, have retired. It appears that the received wisdom of the LEAs responsible for these two colleges leads to the conclusion that their future is dependent upon the appointment of a manager as opposed to a principal, and that the in-service education of managers is likely to be more profitable than adult education for the public. In theory, this is true, and the success of Burton Manor is an exemplar of this theory. It must be said, however, that quality adult education is unlikely to be the outcome, or quality management training for that matter, if leadership of residential colleges is not characterised by a sound understanding of the educational issues and processes involved in good residential education.

The International Conference was about residential adult education. In the UK, it seems that the work operates in a legislative vacuum and local policies seem set to undermine the confidence of those who regard residential colleges as one in which it is difficult for commitment, sense of purpose, not to be eroded by political and financial expediency. In this hostility, or is it simply neglect?

4. ROOM FOR OPTIMISM

When proposing this paper the author found room for optimism, but that was before the White Paper. Now, in the wake of the dismissive paragraph 3.6 it is more difficult to feel that any form of liberal adult education has a secure future unless it can pay its way. Income generation is the order of the day and it is very hard to see how non-residential adult education colleges can achieve this but residential colleges can.

The first step appraising the potential of a residential college is the preparation of a business plan. Since colleges are no longer able to depend on subsidies from LEAs, and could well become an activity of leisure departments in new district authorities, every aspect of college life needs to be examined and costed to see whether its contributions to overheads is satisfactory. It will reveal what activities provide the greatest income and this knowledge needs to be compared with the college's primary purposes. It will also demonstrate what needs to be done to bring about a nil net budget position. Costing and pricing, two separate but related activities, will then indicate whether of not target income can be generated. In writing this it could be said that money is coming before purposes; it is the business plan which illuminates appropriate routes to achieving primary objectives.

At Aston Hall College, it is clear that the overheads are paid for by the hotel and catering operation; the educational component of its work can never do this. It is essential that this aspect of College life is used as fully as possible. High volume use is the name of the game. To achieve this it is necessary to look at the ratio of teaching to other accommodation. At Alston there is more teaching accommodation than can be supported by bedroom accommodation, so over 400 day and evening courses are offered to the general public each year as well as a greater number of closed day conferences. This is made possible by often using dining facilities twice at midday and by maintaining the balance between bedroom and teaching accommodation. The income generation is through the food and beverage service. It has to be said too, that the 400 public courses also add to the provision of general adult education. More particularly, however, it is clear that a nil deficit can be achieved by increasing its bed-night occupancy by only 10%.

However, this is a local circumstance worthy of note and further consideration by

colleagues. It is certainly an important element in Alston's thrust towards breaking even financially and it has to be said that, whilst demand for in-service residential courses is in decline, day conference bookings are very buoyant and profitable.

Pendulums swing, and the writer takes the view that they cannot swing in an adverse direction for ever. NIACE, if it survives its present review, will be forced to espouse again the traditional values of adult education, and to promote them. If the more instrumental elements of its work over the last ten years are to be relocated, then its enormous energy can be harnessed to the benefit of liberal adult education, and the special qualities arising from working in a residential context.

Demographic changes in society and politicisation of previously under valued groups, particularly the increasing population of retired people, could lead to a voice for adult education, and residential work especially, which will have some influence. Ways of harnessing this political energy are numerous; residential colleges should see that they do so. In the end, however, the work of residential colleges depends upon its quality and its particular qualities. If hostility becomes greater, then the resilience and inventiveness of those working in the field will match it. The commitment of individuals and the cooperative efforts of ARCA (the Adult Residential Colleges Association) should ensure a future for the work provided that the clear sense of purpose in liberal adult education is not eroded, and leaders in the field become more adept at financial planning and management.

5 POSTSCRIPT

This paper does not purport to be a weighty academic tract; some of the assertions are not fully argued. It seeks to describe and analyse the circumstances of residential adult education in Britain today to stimulate discussion and the sharing of experience. The writer is aware that much of it is written with feeling, but both passion and intellect are required to sustain 'The Great Tradition' into the 21st Century.

LEARNING AND TRAVELLING IN THE THIRD AGE

Residential education for seniors - an Australian experience

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The Australian College for Seniors grew out of educational programs for seniors (people over 50) held at country residential Colleges of Advanced Education in New South Wales. Links with ELDERHOSTEL (USA) established in 1984 have resulted in twenty or more programs a year being run by the Australian organisation for the American market (for which senior is defined as over 60).

The Australian College for Seniors aims to provide programs which are of high educational value run in association with recognised tertiary institutions or other quality educational organisations, programs which are residential in nature led by people with special skills in group leadership. The teaching mode is a combination of lecture and field trip. Each program is of three to four weeks duration and is held at three or four venues hundreds of miles apart. About half these programs are located for about a week each at the Women's College within the University of Sydney. The programs have proved a challenge for the College in terms of standard accommodation, the nature of the educational program, travel arrangements and the robustness of the participants.

In this paper, the origins of the Australian College for Seniors will be described, the nature of the programs outlined and an assessment made of the value of such programs for a residential College. Some speculation about the value to participants is given.

Introduction

There is a movement called the University of the Third Age. Each Monday and Thursday throughout the academic year, a group of Third Age people gather at The Women's College at the University of Sydney to learn about Japanese language and society or other Asian countries to write poetry, to study some aspect of English literature or history. There are many other programs throughout the Sydney region covering a wide range of subjects. These Third Age people are over sixty, usually retired and have a strong desire to spend time learning. Courses are run using small groups which meet fortnightly. There is no charge and the College has very little contact with them. They come and go each week hardly noticed by the College community.

Other groups of "Third Agers" come regularly during the summer and winter vacations. They travel great distances and stay at the College for an intensive program of study lasting a little under a week. Obviously, we are much more aware of their presence if only because of the American twang in the corridors. Clearly, the two types of program are very different in purpose and style as are the motivation and needs of the participants. It is the residential nature of the second type which intrudes, at times dramatically, on the learning process. It makes one question the value of the educational component for Third Age people.

This paper is about the latter program. The College's involvement in such programs is through the Australian College for Seniors, an organisation which began less than a decade ago.

The Australian College for Seniors

The purpose of the Australian College for Seniors (ACFS) is to provide high quality domestic and international residentiall experiences for people over the age of fifty years. The first courses were held in country New South Wales in February 1983 under the leadership of Mr Barry Russell, a lecturer in the Department of Continuing Education at the University of Wollongong. In May of the same year, a workshop was held in order to evaluate the programs and to assess the potential for implementing them throughout Australia.

While on sabbatical leave at the end of 1983, Mr Russell arranged with ELDERHOSTEL (USA) to send hostelers to Australia to join the ACFS programs. So, in January 1985, the first hostelers arrived in Australia. Their numbers grew to 1224 in 1988 and then declined so that in 1990, the number of participants from the American organisation was 696, only 96 more than in 1985. In participant weeks, the numbers grew from 1800 in 1985 to a maximum of 3722 in 1988 and then declined to 3101 in 1989 and 2508 in 1990.

Australian participation has increased very slowly. Places were reserved for Australians on the programs run by the ACFS for American Elderhostelers. However, this proved unsatisfactory and, in 1988, domestic programs for Australians only were held. These have increased from 3 in 1988 to 22 in 1990, the number of participant weeks increasing from 68 in 1988 to 231 in 1990. A series of overseas programs for Australians have been conducted at the same time and these have numbered between 3 and 6 per annum, the number of participant weeks ranging from 60 to 127.

From its inception, the organisation in Australia sought to build links with Australian Universitites and Colleges of Advanced Education so that its programs would have the right academic primatur. In general, these links were established with the Continuing or Adult Education offices of these institutions. Currently, there are two categories of membership of ACFS - one for the Universities and the other for the residential colleges and halls and other non-institutional members.

The governing body of the Australian College for Seniors consists of 5 representatives elected from the first category i.e. from the educational institutions, 2 from the second category, i.e. from the "non-institutions" which includes the residential institutions, one representative from the University of Wollongong where the College for Seniors is located and one representative from the New Zealand College for Seniors which works very closely with its American counterpart. The Director and Business Manager are non-voting members.

The arrangements for residential accommodation at Australian Universities are varied. At the older Universities like those of Sydney and Melbourne, there are Colleges within the University charged with the task of providing accommodation and academic support for the students. These older colleges exist under separate Acts of Parliament and

consequently are autonomous although "within" the University. At the newer Universities, the residential halls and colleges are largely administered by the University itself and exist purely for residential purposes. There are exceptions notably at the newer universities in Sydney, viz the Universities of South Wales and Macquarie.
In some ways, this provides a dilemma for ACFS in its aim of providing high quality residential educational programs. The University is responsible for the "academic" part but the residential institution runs the daily program and in large measure bears the burden of the program both practical and financial. Unless the academic and residential institutions work well together, programs are likely to be unsuccessful. Further, where Colleges or Halls of Residence have an academic role, there is possible conflict.

Residential Institutions

As the relationship between residential institution and university varies, so does the academic role of the residential institution. Their academic role is usually to provide academic support for their student members most of whom are undergraduates. However, at the University of Sydney, the older colleges began with the additional task of providing theological education and hence they have a recognised academic role in the University, the Heads of these colleges being members of the Board of Studies in Divinity. (It should be noted that public education in Australia was from the start secular unlike the education system in the United Kingdom.)

My college, The Women's College within the University of Sydney, did not have such an academic role even though it is in fact more tightly bound to the University than are the men's colleges. This arose because the College was sponsored by the University whereas the men's colleges were sponsored by individual churches. The interesting consequence is that the Principal of The Women's College must create her own academic tie to the University even though there has been a strong tradition of academic research, teaching and initiative at the College.

At the time of its establishment in 1891 when the first Principal was being appointed, the University was very small with few staff but a growing number of students. The oldest faculty, Arts, has recently been joined by the faculties of Law and Medicine. Women had been admitted about ten years previously. So the Council of the Women's College set out to appoint a woman with strong academic qualifications, who could not only run the

College 'household' but provide tutorial assistance. In Louisa MacDonald, MA, graduate of the University of London and Fellow of University College at the University of London, the College had as a Principal a woman of real academic strength as well as an experienced and creative teacher. She organised at the College, the first lectures in teacher education to be held at the University of Sydney. So began an academic tradition at the College, separate from that of academic support for students.
My predecessor, Ms Val Street, saw the ACFS programs as an opportunity for the College to assume an academic role of potential financial benefit as well as being of academic significance. Hence, the programs at the Women's College are run solely by the College and not by one of the units within the University which are recognised as providers of quality adult educational programs.

Financial matters are of importance to all involved in the Elderhostel programs. Australian education has been exposed to the Dawkins factor in the last few years. (Mr Dawkins is the Federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training) The University system has been pressed into selling its services in order to generate income for research and extra facilities. Another factor which has affected residential colleges has been the removal of a Government subsidy. So the colleges have had a strong incentive to make extra income during the vacations. One of the benefits of the ACFS programs is that, once established, they provide regular income from a comparatively quiet group of people.

The nature of the programs

Each institution is responsible for the academic and social program at its site. Usually, a site program lasts for about one week. The site programs are linked together to make a three to four week package. Co-ordination is done by the central body which appoints a group co-ordinator who travels with the group throughout Australia.

Distances between sites are great and may be undertaken by plane or bus. For example, one program planned for January/February 1992 starts in Sydney, continues in Tasmania, then Melbourne and finishes in Auckland, New Zealand. Another begins in Auckland, continues at Otago in the south island of New Zealand, then Sydney and finishes in Cairns, North Queeensland. Obviously, travel becomes a major factor both in terms of cost and convenience. So, the sites may find some difficulty because the travel

arrangements result in late arrivals or weary hostellers who have travelled a long distance. These problems also apply at the start when a delayed international flight may result in arrivals in the early hours of the morning instead of at a reasonable time the previous evening. The Women's College is only about 15 minutes from Mascot, Sydney's International Airport, but there is a curfew and so a delay in Los Angeles can be catastrophic at the Sydney end.

The academic programs are a mixture of lectures and field trips. In the case of the Women's College, the morning is usually spent at the College with morning tea sandwiched between two lectures. Lunch is followed by an excursion. One day is free as is every second evening. The evening activities include lectures, theatre or opera. One of the excursions may take a full day. The lectures and excursions are about a particular topic. At Women's these include "Introduction to Australia", "Southern Oceans", "Sydney Harbour". The aim is to increase participants' knowledge of a particular topic in such a way that there is variety of activity, pleasure, and real enjoyment. Lectures and field trips are coordinated so that they support each other. The lecturers are acknowledged experts and in general very able teachers. Every effort is made to encourage participants to be active learners. There are no tests of other forms of academic assessment. Instead, the participants evaluate the organisers!

The conduct of the program

There are two major players - the site managers and the participants. Two other organisations stand in the wings. These are ACFS and the American Elderhostel Association. The combined effect of the site programs determines the success of failure of these two organisations. So they keep a careful watch over the site activities. They determine the cost structure, whether an advertised program will be actually run, and the intensity of the educational activities. The American organisation conducts an evaluation after participants have returned home. In the case of The Women's College, an evaluation by questionnaire is also carried out by the College on the last evening of each program.

The participants are North Americans mostly over sixty years of age. Their educational backgrounds vary although most are tertiary educated and have spent their working lives in one of the professions - school teachers, middle-level University admininstrators,

engineers seem to predominate, the occasional University professor and even a United States Air Force general. Their motivation for coming is primarily to see Australia. In the case of "theme" programs, we have found that three-quarters had not chosen the program because of the theme, but because of their destination. In fact, a number are on programs which are not their first choice, the parent organisation in the United States having cancelled those which did not have sufficient applicants by a certain date.

Participants suffer a long and arduous journey to Australia (the west coast of the USA is 13 hours from Australia) and travel vast distances within the country itself. Usually, they come from the North American winter to the Australian summer. Since 1985, summers in Australia have included the wettest on record, the hottest on record and the driest on record. For some participants, the weather poses real difficulties. Heat exhaustion and other health problems are experienced by many. The accommodation at the College is undergraduate, designed for the more temperate times of the year. So it is without cross-ventilation let alone air-conditioning, without basins in rooms let alone private bathrooms, and in spite of our best efforts, the dining-room is obviously used mainly by students. The most brilliant lecturer will be in difficulties in such circumstances.

The style of accommodation is more of a problem for participants who are on their first Elderhostel program, invariably the majority of a particular group, and when the package results in a mixture of accommodation type. For example, in Cairns motels are used whereas in Sydney, Melbourne and Tasmania, student accommodation is used. Interestingly, Australians are far less ready to spend their holidays in such accommodation, and this has proved a major factor in the failure of the Australian side of the business.

So the physical environment of the College, and the state of health of the participants can combine to produce a negative impact on the whole program. These are factors which interact synergistically with the usual factors which affect impact of an educational program such as quality of delivery, the dynamics of the group and the intent of the individual participants.

The weather cannot be controlled by the organisers, but the adverse effects of the physical environment can be minimised. The College works hard at providing extra

comforts such as cold drinks, fresh fruit, an air-conditioned common room. For a group of forty, two students are employed to befriend our guests, to assist those less mobile tthan others, and to help the College meet special needs promptly. In comparison with other vacation groups, these groups are demanding and critical.

For some of the participants, their trip to Australia is disastrous. They find that they cannot cope physically, which may mean that the benefit of a educational tour is lost. Of course, most enjoy good health, but nevertheless find the summer enervating although not devastating. But it only requires one or two to become irascible for the whole group to suffer. This underlines one of the hazards of residential adult education viz the interplay between daily living and learning is stronger in the residential situation than in the non-residential and moreover is potentially destructive. I suggest that these problems are enlarged by being in residence in an unfamiliar country with a group of strangers although for some the unfamiliarity may serve as a stimulant.

Evaluation of the programs

The programs are evaluated on the last day at Women's and when the participants return home. The complainants are usually a minority, albeit a vocal minority. There is also a vocal group - usually a majority - who thoroughly enjoy the program. Repeatedly, the evaluations made at the end of each program at Women's are positive. The lecturers are highly rated, as is the content of the whole program, the balance of free time and formal classes, the nature of the excursions, the helpfulness of the organiser and his team of helpers. Accommodation and food receive mixed reviews.

This however is not the picture that comes from the American evaluations. When participants return home, they find a questionnaire in their letter box. It covers the whole program week by week. The disparity between the on-site evaluation and the USA one requires explanation. From my experience of evaluation of lecturers, I believe that part of the explanation lies in the timing, the comparisons made with other site programs, and differences in wording and context of the actual questionnaires. After all, we are only seeking information about our own program. What seems very satisfactory in Sydney, may not seem so after Cairns. This applies to every aspect of a program - accommodation as mentioned earlier, teaching style (traditional lecture in Sydney, more fieldwork in Cairns), content (pot pourri in Sydney, one of the wonders of the world in

Cairns) and so on.

Other initiatives

A new form of program is to be tried in 1992. The purpose is to upgrade the academic content of the programs. These new ones will differ from the present programs in three significant respects. First, the academic program will emphasise a single discipline. Second, there will be an effort made to conclude the program with a sense of academic achievement by way of completion of a piece of research, or the presentation of a performance or exhibition, or the creation of a substantive paper or report. Third, participants will be expected to do "homework".

The College already runs English language programs of this kind for University students from Japan. They work hard, and fortunately do not play hard as Australian students who would not tolerate the 9 pm curfew imposed by the Japanese tour leaders. Teaching English to those from non-English speaking countries in an English speaking country has a ready motivation. No doubt the success of the new style Elderhostel program will lie with the topics chosen for investigation. They must be peculiarly Australian. Otherwise why travel so far, subject oneself to serious academic endeavour while living in sub-standard accommodation?

Australian participation

It has been suggested that Australians have not taken kindly to these programs. One can only speculate about the reasons for their lack of interest. First, the Australian market is substantially smaller than the American market and probably smaller than the critical size for commercial success. Second, Australians are great travellers but prefer to do so outside Australia. The level of participation in further education is small in the "Third Age" group, certainly in comparison with the corresponding generation of Americans. Fourth, feed-back suggested that the American style of program was not what Australians wanted.

In 1988, ACFS devised programs for the domestic market alone. The Australian programs differ from the programs for Americans in choice of subject and location. They are not as intense in their educational program although the same amount of travelling is

done within the program. Steady growth has occurred. It remains to be seen whether Australian "Third Agers" will take to travelling and learning in tandem.

The value for the College

Are there real benefits for the participating organisations? For my College, the programs add to the academic visitors to the College. The College has developed links with the Faculty of Education and the Department of History in particular. The actual financial benefit to the collegel is negligible, but it does mean that a staff team is maintained at full strength thoughout the year, and that our premises are opened during the summer rather than being left to grow mould. For students, the benefits are found in increased opportunities for work as conference porters and secretaries, tour guides and waitresses. Of course, all this could be achieved by other conference groups. In fact, the ACFS programs probably only account for a quarter to one third of our vacation trade. The big advantage of the ACFS trade is its constancy from year to year and its responsible participants. They do not contribute to noise pollution, nor do they souvenir the paintings, crocery and cutlery. They do not indulge in conspicuous consumption. The only groups that return regularly are professional dental and medical organisations whose postgraduates come to the college for their intensive training programs prior to professional examinations.

Conclusion

In the Australian university context, there are special problems in residential education for seniors. These result from climatic conditions, the style of accommodation, the distances travelled. The Australian College for Seniors has had to rely on the American market to create a viable commercial business. This has brought additional problems, which are mainly associated with the nature of the educational program. For the university colleges involved in this venture, the programs bring a steady trade with responsible participants. However, their personal health and expectations have placed other demands on the organisers which have required the provision of extra services. The experience in general has been found to be an exciting adventure well worth the minor inconveniences - a great educational experience.

"MINDS IN COMMUNITY: A REPORT AND A PROJECT"

Glynn Faithfull
Principal, Braziers Adult College

The main part of this paper gives an account of forty years of work and research in residential adult education at Braziers Adult College at Ipsden in Oxfordshire. Braziers is remarkable in that it is independent and privately run as a Friendly Society by a resident community supported by a network of interested individuals who live elsewhere. Its tutors are all volunteers who give their services as a contribution to the work of the community. The founding of Braziers goes back to three summer schools which were organised in 1947, 1948 and 1949 under the leadership and inspiration of Dr J Norman Glaister, a medical man who was Senior Psychological Assistant at University College Hospital and at the same time a social reformer and philosopher. After the third of these summer schools, the men and women involved said that the ideas they had discovered together were too important to be just the subject of discussions once a year at a summer school. They said: "We must found a permanent centre and live them as well as talk about them". Norman Glaister became the first Director of Studies of Braziers Adult College. His place was taken by the author of this paper when Norman Glaister died in 1961. The paper also puts forward new ideas about the role of residential adult education in relation to the environmental crisis in the world today.

There is a mystery which hangs over residential adult education: it is the question of why it is so successful. All those who have experienced it, whether as purveyors of it or as consumers, know that it does normally work well and that frequently it works outstandingly well. Rarely, however, are attempts made to bring into consciousness and to understand how and why it works to the satisfaction of many people. The two main benefits that accrue from it are clear and confirmed again and again from experience. Firstly, there is, both in the group and in individuals, a raising of morale with an attendant gain of renewed energy and mental alertness. Secondly, there is - again both in the group and in individuals - an increase in human creativity and a growth in inventiveness and new responsiveness to challenge.

Of course some of the factors which contribute to successful living in community are known. As long ago as the 4th century B.C. Aristotle, in his Politics, when discussing the functioning of the ancient Greek extended family settlement or oikos, drew attention to the importance of sharing food. In fact he calls the dwellers in an oikos "pot-sharers" and "trough-sharers". Another recognised factor which fosters good morale and creativity is habitat-sharing. People who are responsible for running residential adult education centres which accept one or two non-residents among the resident students, have often observed the quite different response they get from the non-residents, who may not be aware of what they are missing. Food sharing is of course on-going, but is something intermittent and transient and broken into relatively short phases of experience. The ever-present protective walls and roof or ceilings and the quickly learned shared routes along corridors and through openings or doors, whether in palaeolithic cave or urban house or country mansion - and let us remember that a large number of adult colleges are in what was formerly the rural habitat of an extended family - these all-embracing structures which emphasise togetherness are a constant reminder and re-assurance of the continuity and durability which we all need in order to feel that we have shared future as well as a shared present and past. A third factor which needs to be considered is that of work-sharing or task-sharing which clearly has an integrative effect on individuals and group. There is here, however, a semantic problem because residential adult education is commonly associated with release from what is ordinarily called "work", i.e. what goes on at one's place of employment. Nevertheless a group of adults at a residential college are clearly doing something together. I suggest therefore that we should call what they are doing "ideas-sharing". This is a useful term because it includes the truth of the non-material quality of ideas. If we adapt a common proverb, we

could say that "You can't have your cake and share it"; but this is not true of ideas which are developed and extended and multiplied by being shared.

My main interest in this paper, however, lies in a fourth integrative factor which until recently has been undefined and little understood. This is the factor which I have called in the title of this paper, "Minds in Community". By this I mean not only the meeting and mutual encounter of different mental qualities and differing human gifts and needs that occur in any gathering of adult residential students; but also the emergent group-mind factors which move and motivate them in their group dynamics in ways that do not occur easily in more casual and less structured groups. This largely submerged aspect of human interchange expresses itself in the developmentality of ideas and symbols and in the rise of group self-consciousness. In order to make clear my interest here, however, perhaps I ought not to have used the plural word "minds" on the title of this paper; but rather I should have used the singular, calling my subject "Mind in Community" in order to stress the educational importance of this collective sublimal factor which lies in the psychic or spiritual ground of our being. Indeed it may underlie the whole process of human psycho-social evolution. I cannot, however, do much to follow up this subject here because it mainly concerns the Braziers community as a sociological experiment rather than its functioning as an adult college. I will only add that it is closely related to the educational question of what techniques and what disciplines of discussion best promote the advance of understanding and the progress of ideas. In Braziers we have found that some old-established practices of debate seem to inhibit progress while going round the circle of the group - what we call a "Round" - and the organisation of discussion in various forms of sub-groups - which may be large or small and may be assembled in the same large room or in separate small rooms - seem to enhance communication and understanding in the mind of the group or in the group of minds.

To conclude this first part of my paper, I will just put on record that when we formed the Friendly Society which owns and guides our college and we found ourselves choosing our officially registered title - sanctioned by the Registrar General of Friendly Societies - we settled for "The Braziers Park School of Integrative Social Research", borrowing the term integrative from the title of a famous book by C.S. Sherrington: The Integrative Action of the Nervous System. In other words, we were concentrating on the integrative function of techniques and disciplines of communication within the group. We also wanted the term integrative partly as a counterweight to the over-emphasis in modern thought

on analytical and reductive procedures. Here I need to point out that Jan Smuts' term holistic, although it had first been launched into the world of science and philosophy in 1926, had not yet - in 1950 when we founded Braziers - entered common currency and become, as it now has, a vogue word. Indeed in 1950 it was largely unknown and unused. Therefore what we call integrative social research might be more acceptable today if we equated it more or less with holistic social research.

To come now to the second part of my paper, I am confronted by the somewhat daunting task of trying to report on forty years of experience and experiment in residential adult education at Braziers. The college has the distinction of being not only one of the few self-governing and self-owning colleges; it is also run on a voluntary basis as a charity. Moreover I think we can claim with confidence that we are the only adult college that is run by what we call a community although some people might well call it a commune; furthermore we believe that our community is by now the oldest surviving lay community in Britain.

What I propose to do first is to try and report on some of the progress we have made in inventing our own, or in adapting other people's ideas and techniques in residential adult education. May I first add, by way of showing my credentials, that I came into residential adult education from non-residential adult education. This was before Braziers was founded - indeed I began in the period before the second world war as a tutor in the Extra-Mural Department in the University of Liverpool and as a tutor for the Workers Educational Association in Liverpool. I shall always be grateful for being given this opportunity to be a field worker in this way; and I still treasure memories of wintry journeys in steam trains out of Lime Street and Central stations into the wilds of Cheshire and Lancashire, and of being given, on arrival, an appreciative and heartening welcome.

For those who have never heard of Braziers before, I should explain that the moving spirit and principal architect and benefactor of the Braziers community and its college, who launched it onto its voyage of sociological discovery, was Norman Glaister. He was a medical man by profession and a social scientist by inclination, very much in the tradition of his famous teacher and mentor, Wilfred Trotter, whom he first met as his Professor of Surgery at University College Hospital in London. It was Glaister who guided Braziers onto the trail blazed by William James, Wilfrid Trotter, Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung.

I remember that one of the first insights in social history and psychology that we found could be adapted to the interpretation of residential adult education was provided by Arnold Toynbee in his sociologically oriented Study of History. In volume three of his monumental work, Toynbee made the observation that human creativity seems to depend on a duality of movement; on a going apart and, for the time being, a release from, "social toils and trammels". Then, in a second phase, a return to the original social context but with a new vision of its problems and their solution. Toynbee's name for this process of regeneration of creativity and spiritual rebirth was "Withdrawal and Return" which has now become a technical term of social psychology and human growth, whether in the group or in the individual. Early in the Braziers experiment we realised that attendance at a week-end course or summer school was a short-term version of this human need for a retreat from "social toils and trammels" followed by a return, refreshed and with renewed creativity, to the workaday world.

The next source of ideas and insights which we have encountered and which has a very important bearing on residential adult education was the pioneer work of W. R. Bion in the field of group dynamics. We were introduced to his work by an article entitled "Group Dynamics: a Review" which appeared in the International Journal of Psycho-analysis in 1952. Since then, of course, Dr Bion's work has become widely known, especially since the publication of his book, which included a re-print of the article just referred to, entitled Experiences in Groups, published by the Tavistock Press in 1961.

Under this heading of indebtedness to other studies, I should also mention the contributions of Sir Julian Huxley and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin to psycho-social evolutionary theory. Braziers was in fact the first residential adult education college in Britain to offer courses on Teilhard. With the help of other scholars in this field who have taken courses for us - and I wish here especially to mention the late Dr Kenneth Oakley of the Natural History section of the British Museum - Braziers has been able to develop a special interest in evolution generally, and especially in psycho-social evolution in its relevance to education. In fact this special interest has led us to initiate a "Festival of Evolution" held on the National Holiday (Bank Holiday) long week-end which comes at the end of August every year. We enjoy making a symbolic recapitulation of our evolutionary past by celebrating it with a mesolithic breakfast, a neolithic lunch and an iron-age supper!

Another important contact we had at an early age was with Lancelot Whyte who was a physicist interested in human evolution. Here we need to mention as a detail of history that Lancelot Whyte, as a result of his book, The Next Development in Man, was invited to the first of the three summer schools held in 1947, 1948 and 1949, which led up to our decision to found a community and ultimately to our move to Braziers Park. Indeed Whyte was present at the official opening of Braziers in 1950. Stimulating contributions to the Braziers curriculum came also from Gerald Heard, especially from his book entitled Pain, Sex and Time. From Heard's idea of the need in the modern world to train people who could become what he called "specialists in non-specialisation" we derived the idea of a composite inter-disciplinary course consisting of three diverse subjects, which are not presented concurrently, so that students can attend all three if they wish. That we were able to devise this type of course, which we now always use on a Bank Holiday week-end, was largely due to our voluntary and charitable status. Whereas most adult colleges run by Local Education Authorities are not able to open on a Bank Holiday Monday because domestic staff desire or require to be free to take their holiday, Braziers, supported by its community members and voluntary tutors, has been able to develop a series of very attractive and fruitful multi-subject courses which last from Friday evening till Monday afternoon and which specialises in non-specialisation. I should add that we do not choose the subjects as logically interlocked subjects. Usually one of the three subjects involves physical movement or collective action, such as yoga, dancing or exploring the countryside on foot - while of the other two, one may be artistic or literary and the other to do with social studies, history or science. Here we can also mention a series of integrative social research courses on symbols and symbol formation which we entitled "Basic Symbols" - defining basic symbols as those which contain powerful opposites and which are so universal that they operate both on humans and on some animals. As examples of such basic symbols we could give: boundaries, water, fire or the visual and auditive releaser mechanisms involved in the growth of infants of some species. In connection with the last named we found the work of Niko Tinbergen very valuable. We have also found that the study of basic symbols is a valuable aid to interpretation of literary and artistic productions, as well as to the elucidation of individual dilemmas and group problems.

Three more aspects of the Braziers curriculum need to be reported on. Firstly, some courses which have increasingly attracted people are those which offer group

counselling. These were introduced at an early period in Braziers by Dr Glaister. In 1952 he started a series of courses entitled "A Technique for Solving Difficulties" which is still continuing. Here we need to explain that he made a distinction between problem-facing and problem-solving. He did so because he felt that in human dilemmas and difficulties the readiness to face problems is a more important asset than a high intelligent quotient. We need not say more about this series, however, because we have already published a full report on it in our Braziers Research Communications No. 12. Related to this are other group counselling courses which we offer under such titles "Living with more Meaning", "Writing as Self-exploration" and "Earning a Living and Living a Life".

Secondly, we have found that there are positive advantages in recruiting our tutors from people who have first attended our courses as students. Not that we do not value experts or professional teachers; on the contrary we have many such valuable collaborators. But we also welcome people who are not professional teachers because this helps us not to perpetuate the great gap in status and understanding between teachers and learners which prevails in classes held in the earlier echelons of education up to and including university education. In other words we have found that residential adult education groups need to be truly adult in their ethos and in their internal relationships.

Thirdly and finally we should mention that courses in environmental studies are now having an important role to play in adult education generally and we are offering them fairly frequently. We should add that this interest has led us to run a completely organic garden and farm as part of our community venture and these have a role to play in our courses. From them come of course a large amount of vegetables and fruit. Braziers also consumes its own milk, mostly its own butter and sometimes its own cheese. We also eat our own beef and lamb - although we always offer vegetarian alternatives which are required by many people. This rural economy also contributes to creating an harmonious natural setting which adds much to the enjoyment of a stay in Braziers.

From the subject of environmental studies I now turn to the third part of my paper, namely a proposal which I hope will make some contribution to the future of our planet and which will open a new door for people involved in residential adult education. In 1972 the editors of The Ecologist offered to the world the volume entitled A Blueprint for Survival which was described by the Sunday Times as "nightmarishly convincing". It is now

nearly 20 years since that book appeared and here we are already arrived at what is beginning to be called "the critical decade": critical because, if we do not succeed in making, during the 1990s, drastic changes in the human impact on our physical environment, it will be too late. I do not propose to venture here into the question of what drastic changes are necessary. Everywhere there are hands raised in horror and voices raised in resisting or urging all sorts of changes. I am concerned with one simple issue, namely that, whatever the drastic changes are, they will involve a very painful change in human policies. Quite simply, they will involve a lower standard of living, a decrease in comfort and a loss of luxuries which we have come to regard as necessities. After nearly five centuries of expansionism in Europe we have to contemplate an era of retrenchment and what will seem like deprivation of rights and a renouncing of what we thought were a birthright of scientific and technical assets. One thing is clear: this will bring about a great decline in human hope and in human morale. Whether the decline in morale will be greater and more dangerous in the rulers or in the ruled is very difficult to assess. Loss of confidence and sense of direction in the rulers may be met by panic in the ruled. Turbulence and uncertainty in the ruled may be met by dictatorship and military take-overs in the rulers. Who will tend first to lose their nerve?

Now I began this paper with the observation that one of the known gains of residential adult education is a raising of morale and an increase in new responsiveness to challenges. My proposal is that the existing residential colleges, and new ones yet to be added, should be developed as training centres for senior leaders and counsellors. Furthermore these colleges should provide training courses in simpler living and re-designed patterns of human existence which consume less and pollute less, interpreted and illuminated by a new and caring ethos and statement of non-material values.

It may be that some of my listeners will feel like asking me at this point: but why are you concentrating on senior and retired people? My answer is that there are two very good reasons why I am doing this. Firstly, in the present world what is needed is people who have experience of the kind of adapting that retrenchment and renunciation demand; and senior and retired people have just precisely that. From the age of about forty, when eyesight begins to become weaker and hair begins to go grey at the temples, when muscular strength and power of breathing are not good enough for running upstairs two steps at a time, when recovery from illness or from physical damage takes painfully longer; from then onwards the senior and retired people are surviving because they are

learning to adapt in what would otherwise be a losing battle. Indeed, those who do not adapt do not survive. Then they do not face the yet tougher handicaps of old age itself. Secondly, the senior and retired people represent an untapped and not sufficiently valued reservoir of human,man experience and insight and knowledge. In my view this has been demonstrated by "The University of the Third Age". The world does not yet recognise what miracles of altruistic organisation and devoted voluntary service are being given by retired people to this form of education which is flourishing nationwide here as well as in other countries.

To conclude, then, my project is that there should be developed, within the framework and the curriculum of the short-term residential colleges, a special commitment to training teams of senior adults who, of course in collaboration with younger age groups, would consciously develop a personal policy of accepting social concern without any title to power holding, because it is precisely this that is required in a world where power is manifestly failing to provide solutions to problems of all kinds. In such a context their work should be associated with the formation of a philosophy of change and a new direction in the evolution of human consciousness. Such senior adult education teams should be, and should see themselves to be, agents of adaptation in a world which desperately needs to adapt to new factors in the physical and in the ideological environment. This would imply a new phase in residential adult education; a philosophically holistic and a spiritually integrative curriculum which would work towards not merely survival, but also towards advances in human evolution and self-understanding and perhaps towards a new understanding of the cosmos itself. Let us learn what we can from an era that is ending and face the challenge of one that needs to be created.

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